



The Reply

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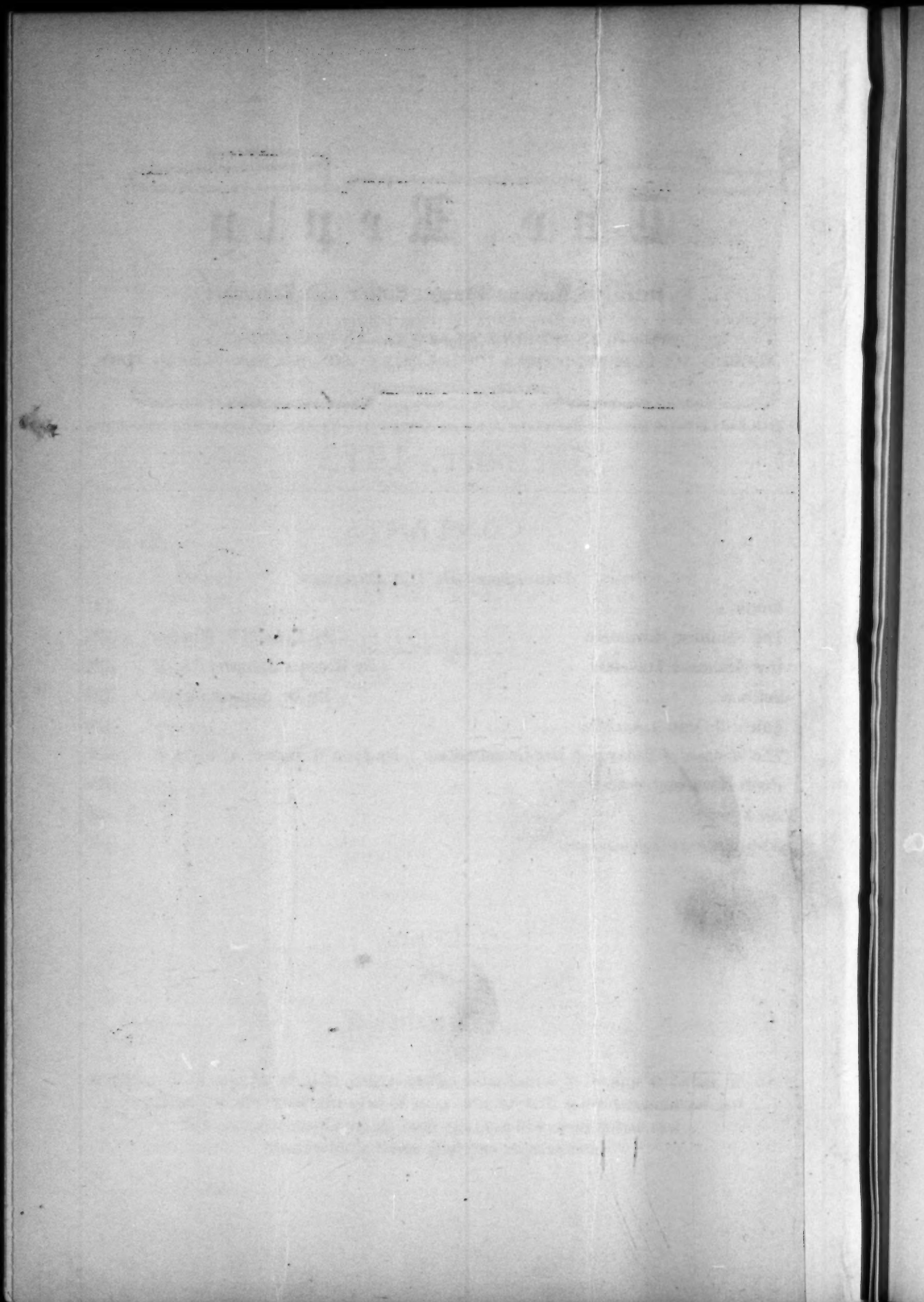
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Anti-Suffrage
Magazine

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The Reply

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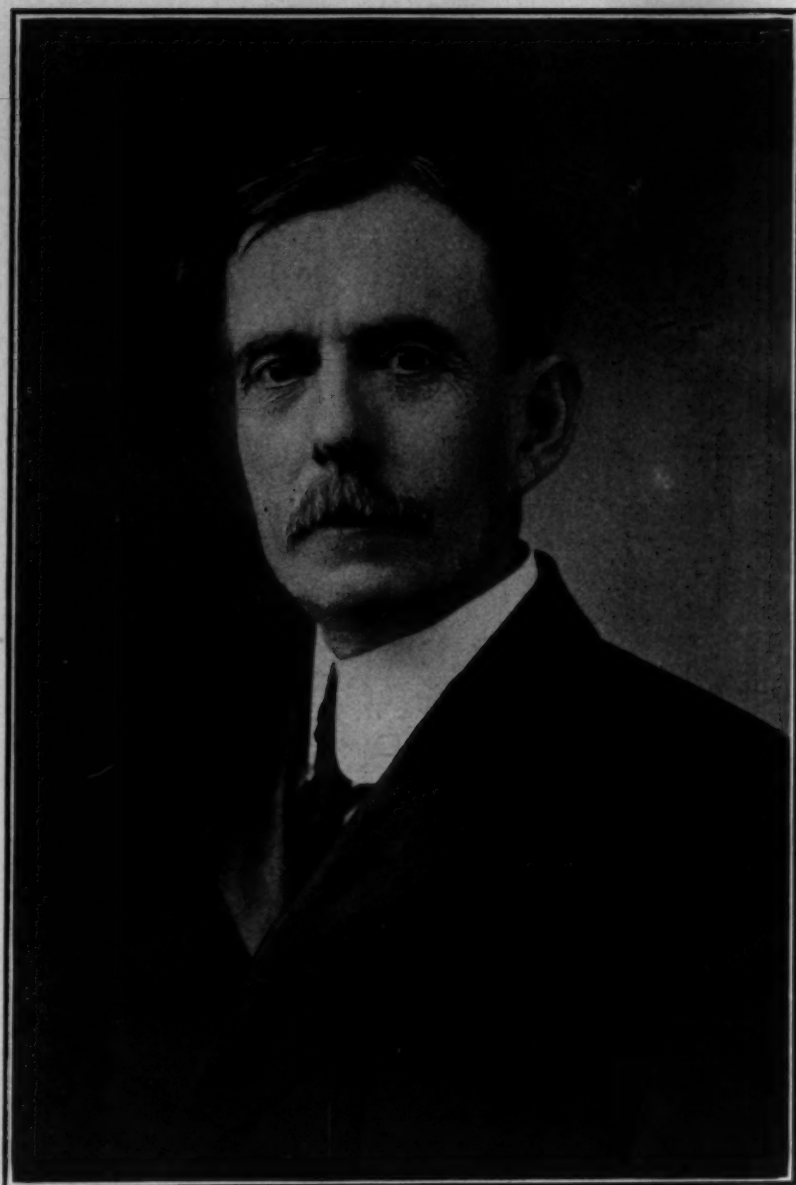
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EDITORIAL

A QUIET CITIZEN desiring to flee from political strife and excitement in New York would hardly seek quiet in our sister State, New Jersey, just now. And the woman in politics is a far more formidable personage than the man. After tremendous stress and strain, the Suffragists succeeded in getting the Legislature of 1913 to pass a measure favoring the submission of the question of Woman Suffrage to the people. In order that this be done it must pass another Legislature, with favorable action. In order to reach the next Legislature, notice of intended action should, according to the law, have been published in a newspaper in each County in the State for three months preceding the next election. This was not done, and when the omission was discovered it was too late to fulfil this legal requirement.

It was suggested that the publication be proceeded with, and that it be left with the courts to decide whether the intent of the law was fulfilled. In his opinion, Lieutenant Attorney-General Nelson B. Gaskill says:

"The phrase 'published for three months previous to making such choice' is, in my opinion, a mandatory requirement of publication for three calendar months, prior to the election for members of the General Assembly, following the passage of the proposed amendment or amendments by the preceding Legislature.

"This was the ruling of the department made by Attorney-General Samuel H. Grey, in an opinion rendered to the Honorable Franklin Murphy, Governor of this State, on January 28, 1902, in which opinion this department now concurs.

"It is evident that it is now impossible to comply with this constitutional provision, because the time between the receipt of these resolutions by you, on August 26, and the occurrence of the general election on November 4, is less than three calendar months.

"It does not seem to me that any reason which has occasioned the delay in the presentation of these resolutions to you justifies an evasion, or a failure to comply completely with the constitutional provision referred to, and that an advertise-

ment made now, for the length of time still open, would be futile, and would not afford a proper basis for action by a subsequent Legislature.

"Under these circumstances, I question very much whether you would be justified in ordering the advertisement and incurring the expense. This question, however, it seems to me, should be settled, not by you alone, but by the action of the three officials named in the resolutions to have charge of the publication."

In the following political suggestion by Suffrage leaders, a moral is to be found:

"Notwithstanding the positive declaration of Assistant Attorney-General Gaskill to the effect that the time limit for advertising the amendment expired on August 4 of this year, the State officials and the leaders of the Woman Suffrage movement are pinning their hope on favorable action by the court as to the construction of the meaning of the word 'choice,' as used in the Constitution and on a decision rendered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1900.

"The exact language of the Constitution regarding the advertising is, 'And shall be published for three months previous to making such choice,' the 'choice' referring to the choice of members of the Legislature. The Suffragists hold that as a matter of fact the 'choice' of members of the Legislature as well as of Congressmen is not determined until the State Board of Canvassers has completed its canvass of the figures returned by the Secretary of State and issued to that official, designating who had been elected.

"The only precedent in New Jersey bearing on the matter of the advertising of the proposed Woman Suffrage amendment is not a court decision, but is one created by a Governor, backed by the ap-

proval of the Attorney-General and the Legislature. According to that precedent, a proposed constitutional amendment must be advertised a full three months before the election of the Legislature that is to pass upon the question for a second time. At that time it was held that the fact that the time limit of three months before election day had been passed five days when the advertising was begun vitiated the act of the Legislature.

"Those who are holding that advertising on one day in August and once a week in September and in October will meet the Constitutional requirement, base their hopes upon a decision rendered in 1900 by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and upon an interpretation of the meaning of the word 'choice' as used in the New Jersey Constitution.

"Neither of these contentions is conclusive. The Pennsylvania case was entirely different from the situation in New Jersey. There the Secretary of State had refused to advertise the proposed amendment, but was compelled to do so as a result of mandamus proceedings. In the Pennsylvania case, too, the advertising was begun a full three months before the date of holding the election for members of the Legislature.

"Followed out to its logical conclusion, the definition given to the word 'choice' defeats the very purpose of those who would give it a special meaning. They hold that the 'choice' of members of the Legislature is made only after the declaration of the result upon the convening of the Legislature. The Legislature will convene next winter on January 13. Under the construction of the word 'choice' adopted by the Suffragists, it would be necessary to advertise the amendment

only once before election—in October—and repeat the advertisement after election in November and December.

"The plain purpose of the Constitutional requirement for advertising is that the people may be informed concerning the amendment before casting their votes for members of the Legislature, who are to vote upon the proposition. It may be taken for granted that the courts would not countenance an attempt to defeat the intent of the fundamental law of the State. The object of the publication would be nullified after the result of the election was known, even if the 'choice' had not been legally announced.

"If the Suffragists are wise, they will prepare for a court decision against them by endeavoring to have the Legislature pass a new resolution for a Constitutional convention in addition to the repassage of the old one. Then should the court vitiate the old resolution, after the Legislature has adjourned next winter, the opportunity for a misstep delaying the referendum for still another year would be removed."

The sentimental element in politics is also well illustrated in the following quotation from a Suffrage leader:

"The campaign of the past year represents the earnings of poor women,' is the statement of Mrs. Van Winkle. 'Many poor women who could give no more contributed a loaf of bread or a glass of jelly to be sold for the benefit of our campaign fund,' she said, 'and we do not intend to let this failure pass without putting up a strong fight. Personally I feel I am responsible to the women who have worked for the cause and who have contributed and I hope to make amends by revealing the trickery that may have been played against us.'"

The New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is preparing to meet the situation with vigor and discretion. Their program will soon be announced.

THE present situation concerning Woman Suffrage in New Jersey seems a proper time to review very briefly the curious history of the movement there, especially as it has been the subject of mistaken claims on the part of Suffragists. In 1858, at its annual meeting, William A. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, read a paper in which he said: "By the proprietary laws, the right of Suffrage in New Jersey was given expressly to free men of the province, and in equally explicit terms the law passed in 1709, prescribing the qualifications of electors, confined the privilege to male free holders having one hundred acres of land in their own right, or worth fifty pounds current money of the province, in real and personal estate, and during the whole of the Colonial period these qualifications remained unaltered. By the Constitution adopted July 2, 1776, the elective franchise was conferred upon "all inhabitants of this colony of full age worth, etc.," and the same, or similar, language was used in the different acts regulating elections in 1790. In that year, through the influence of a Quaker member, the Legislature reported a bill in which the expression "he or she" was used in reference to voters, he claiming that the Constitution admitted of this interpretation and, therefore, of the voting of women. The Legislature of 1807, which repealed the action of 1790, saying that it was necessary for the safety, quiet, good order and dignity of the State to clear up

the doubts created by an act of the representatives of the people, through which aliens, negroes, females, without regard to estate, voted at elections, they then passed an act declaratory "of the true sense and meaning of the Constitution," which confined the meaning to the original form.

This remained in force until a final Constitutional amendment which swept away a tax-paying vote. Thus it will be seen that New Jersey never had a legal Woman Suffrage vote, and its history shows that great scandal grew out of the attempt to foist one upon her by interpretation.



Bills to be Presented Before the First Woman's Legislature

The "Sarah" Bill—Making it a misdemeanor for a man to sit in a street-car, subway train, or any other public conveyance, while any woman stands. Violations of this law shall be punished by imprisonment for one year, a fine of \$25, or both.

The "Daisy" Bill—Making it illegal to attempt to regulate the length of a woman's hat-pin or of her skirt. Violations of this law shall be punishable by imprisonment for two years, or by enforced abstinence from cigarettes for a year, or by both.

The "Susan Jane" Bill—Making it illegal for any married man to employ a stenographer or female clerk, under thirty-eight years old, who has not first been interviewed by said employer's wife. Violations of this law shall be made punishable by imprisonment for life.

The "Flossie" Bill—This bill is presented on behalf of and for the exclusive benefit of the Summer Girl. It provides that all hotel proprietors shall be forced to show on their registers the names of more young men than women. That all summer hotels shall light their piazzas with one electric light only, the said light to be placed in the middle of the piazza. Vio-

lations of this law shall be punishable with imprisonment for from twenty-five to thirty days, or by a fine of \$200, or by both.

The "Bridget" Bill—Provides that all cooks, housemaids, laundresses, and other female help, shall have every afternoon and evening off, shall be provided with hot and cold baths, electric light, manicure, shampoo, and massage; shall have a dance once a week in a ball-room exclusively their own, and that the code of rules of the United Order of Houseworkers shall determine how far the further demands of this organization are to be complied with by employers.

Violations of this law are to be made punishable by death.—Puck.



The Scout's Reason

Little John, aged eleven, is an enthusiastic Boy Scout. His troop stood at attention before the Scout Master, who asked each boy why he had wished to join the organization.

When John's turn came, his answer proved a far-sighted spirit of helpfulness and charity:

"When the Suffragettes win out," said he, "they'll want to know how to cook, and I'll be able to teach 'em."—Harper's Monthly.

The Feminist Movement

By Everett P. Wheeler

WE READ in the daily papers that the Suffragists assembled at a street corner in the neighborhood of Washington, and thence made a descent upon the Capitol. I see them talking on the street corners in New York City, and read of their "hiking" through the State, and addressing people in the streets. Do the women engaged in this demonstration really think that they commend themselves to men in this way? Surely no sensible man wishes his wife, or his daughter, or his sister, to make a show of herself in this manner.

We read in the book of Proverbs of a woman of whom it is said: "She is loud and stubborn, her feet abide not in her house. Now she is without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner." From the time of Solomon to the present day there have been such women who capture "young men devoid of understanding." "With her much fair speech she causes him to yield" it is said.

The unanimous voice of civilization from that time to this has made such practices on the part of women a badge of evil. How is it now that these Suffragists think they are wiser than the unanimous voice of the centuries and take up these boisterous practices that all the moralists have condemned? We have an answer from one of the most notable, Inez Boissevain (nee Milholland) which is frank. According to her the Suffrage is but a small part of the Feminist movement. What is really wanted is a social revolu-

tion. The question for us men to consider is whether we want a social revolution.

It seems to be clear that a great majority of women do not want it. One of the learned Suffragist doctors at Cornell has just published an article in which he admits this, but says they ought to want it, and that they must be compelled to submit to it. This is his idea of democracy. It certainly is characteristic of the whole movement. The good ladies who discussed it in an academic way forty years ago have ceased to influence the party. The present leaders are mainly a group of impatient and discontented women who have wealth and leisure, who love the excitement of the campaign and are eager to get the reins of government into their own hands.

Their idea of government is what we should naturally expect. The whole evolution of civilization has been to specialize the work of the two sexes. The woman has the care of the individual. Every human being has but one mother. To every right minded mother the care of the child is the first object in life, and hence it has come to pass that women excel in the care of the individual. There is no nurture comparable to that of a wise and good mother. On the other hand men have had the government of the world, the management of large affairs. They have learned to do the collective work of the world.

Today we behold a group of women

who do not love the home, nor the care of children, to whom the nurture of the individual has ceased to have any interest, and who want to play the part that men have played. Naturally heredity is stronger within them than they realize. Their idea of government is of interference with and control over the individual. When you examine the legislation they recommend it uniformly involves detailed interference with the conduct of individual life. Do we want to grant this power to public officials?

In one of our tariff discussions years ago Henry Ward Beecher said, "No country is less fitted to assume arbitrary power than this. This country is not fitted for a paternal government." As the Secretary of the National Labor organization has said, "a paternal government is an infernal government." That is as true today as it was then. But this is what the Suffragists want.

In the discussion that has been going on over Miss Chittenden's article on California, this point seems to have been overlooked. It is true that the freak and paternalistic legislation in California that she condemns was not passed by women's votes, but it was adopted by the representatives of the voters, a majority of whom have just voted to give the Suffrage to women. The same temper that led them to do the one, led to the other.

Leaving California, let us examine the divorce laws of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona. All these States have adopted Woman Suffrage. In all we find easy divorce laws. According to them, if either party to the marriage chooses to leave the other for a year, a divorce may be granted. This makes the marriage contract dissol-

uble by mutual consent. No wonder Mme. Veronee said at the Woman's Congress at Budapest, "I make no difference between legitimate and illegitimate motherhood." If the Times' correspondent is correct, all the women present applauded and threw flowers at her feet. That is the logical result of the Feminist movement. Marriage is but a temporary arrangement, necessary to perpetuate the race, but not permanently desirable. What, under this regime, becomes of the sweet sanctities of home, the mother's training there that has made America what she is. They blaze in the discord of politics and vanish in smoke.

The following extract from the news columns of the New York Times shows how this new gospel practically works:

RUPPS SIGN PEACE TREATY

Wife Will Stay Away from Suffrage Meetings and Stop Speechmaking

The cause of Suffrage in East New York has lost its best known advocate, Mrs. Lawrence Rupp, who caused her husband's arrest for daring to interrupt her street-corner stump speaking by loud demands for his dinner. The Rupps signed a treaty yesterday in the office of the lawyer whom Rupp retained to defend him in the Domestic Relations Court. Here are the articles:

"I, Martha Rupp, wife of Lawrence Rupp, do hereby desire to withdraw my action taken against my husband, Lawrence Rupp. I do so on account of relatives and for the peace and welfare of my family, and I have agreed not to attend any indoor or outdoor Suffrage meetings of the Suffrage party, or to make any speeches for the Suffrage cause

"I, Lawrence Rupp, for and in consideration of the promises made hereinbefore mentioned, do hereby agree to support my family as I have in the past.

"Signed in the presence of Isidor Kallet.

"MRS. MARTHA RUPP.

"LAWRENCE RUPP."

When the Rupps were seen last evening at their home on Glenmore avenue, Mrs. Rupp said:

"We're going to be happy here from now on. We are determined not to let busybodies turn us against each other any more."

In this case, to be sure, the wife repented before it was too late. But in a

Suffrage State there would have been no place for repentance. She would have been enrolled in a political party, the bonds of that would have been stronger than the loose one year marital arrangement of Wyoming or Colorado. What then would have become of the children?

Let every voter study the Rupp case, and oppose this unnatural warfare against the home and the family.



A Victory In Minnesota

A great victory has been won in Minnesota, by the women who are opposed to Woman Suffrage. The Suffrage organizations worked untiringly while the last Legislature was in session, bending every effort to secure a vote that would put the question of Woman Suffrage to a vote of the people of that State. There is no Suffrage sentiment in the State, outside of Suffrage circles, and the women who resisted being drawn into a campaign, worked quietly but effectively, against the Suffrage movement. They realized that while a campaign would result in a defeat for Woman Suffrage, it would mean a great deal of work for the women opposed, in connection with a campaign of defense against the enemy. Many of the most prominent women in the twin cities lent a hand in the effort to still the Suffrage hysteria in that State, and against the repeated onslaughts of the Suffragists, "Held the Fort" for the best interests of the State, the women, and the homes.

Mrs. J. W. Straight, President of the Dames of the Round Table, one of the best known club women of the State, worked unceasingly against the introduc-

tion of Woman Suffrage into the State, and to her efforts are attributed much of the success of the opposition. Whether the weather was below zero or above 90, Mrs. Straight never left the firing line, and the Suffragists realized at the beginning of the session, that they had dignified, determined opposition to deal with.

THE REPLY congratulates Mrs. Straight and the women of Minnesota on their victory, and now that it has been decided that there will be no extra session of the Legislature, the matter cannot be brought up again in Minnesota for two years, for which there is joy among the women of Minnesota.



Suffrage Law and Order

Mrs. Harriet M. Johnson-Wood, lawyer and Suffragist, says that there will be a writ waiting to take care of the Pankhurst case. Also there will be a big delegation of women over at Hoboken to welcome the leader and to give her a rousing cheer as she comes to fight for a chance to talk.

"I, myself, will lead a body of women to Ellis Island and take her off by force," said Mrs. Wood. "If it is necessary we will toss all of the men on duty there into the upper bay."—New York Journal.

Our Arkansas Travelers

By Rossiter Johnson, LL. D.

THE more agile and active Suffragettes have been driving about the State of New York in gaily bedecked automobiles, waking unaccustomed echoes in peaceful valleys and flaunting the Suffrage colors before the eyes of the rural population. They report, on their return, that they were everywhere received with approbation, that they aroused one long shout of enthusiasm, and that almost every man they saw surrendered at once to the spasmodic and spectacular argument and promised to vote as they wished him to.

If that report is true, it presents either a severe satire on the intelligence of the farmers, or a case of Arkansas traveler.

Those farmers have been in the habit of attending State and County fairs. Do they not remember seeing, at almost every one of those fairs, a fine pair of horses, wearing gold-plated harness, decked with graceful plumes, drawing a fine carriage wherein sat a strikingly attired "doctor," who waved his little flag, or blew his little horn, gathered a gaping crowd beside his vehicle, discoursed volubly on the virtues of his nostrum, and handed it out, right and left, at one dollar a bottle? I have seen him more than once. And have not the intelligent visitors smiled at

the credulity of the bumpkins who did not know that the very manner in which that "doctor" appeared marked him as a charlatan? Real physicians do not advertise in that fashion; and, when you come to think of it, gold-plated harness is no proof of science, a fine carriage is not a diploma, and there is really no medicinal virtue in banners and trumpets. A motto or a catch-word is not an argument; and as for cheers, an escaped lunatic can command those.

The Arkansas traveler was welcomed in the lonely cabin because he could entertain its inmates by playing a certain tune on the violin, who were glad therefor to give him supper and lodging. Similarly, any kind of circus that passes along the rural highways is welcomed as a pleasant variation in the monotony of farm life. It amuses the children, and does not harm the elders, who encourage it to come that way often. Our Suffragettes would have met a similar smiling reception if their banners had been inscribed "Sunbeams from Cucumbers" and the literature that they handed out had explained the process of extraction. Every polite farmer would have accepted the tract with a "Thank you!" and a promise to try it at once in his cucumber patch.



Dr. Samuel Garvin's Sermon

THE following is in part Dr. Garvin's sermon, delivered at the First Presbyterian Church in Colorado Springs on Sunday morning, August 17. As the opinions herein expressed are those of a leader of thought in the model Woman Suffrage State, they are of great value to all men who may later have to express their convictions, by voting on this radical measure in our Eastern States:

SERMON ON SUFFRAGE

I realize it is a serious matter to step aside from the preaching of the gospel to discuss a second time, within a month, Woman's Suffrage.

When I mentioned it three weeks ago, it was only a mention. All I said came within five minutes. Striving to draw some lessons from the book of Ruth for both men and women, I bore testimony to the fact that the woman most men admire is the domestic woman, the home maker. I expressed regret at economic conditions that took woman out of the home and placed her among the wage earners of the world. The fact that there are 6,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States is a calamity. The majority of them are forced to join these ranks because of unwholesome economic conditions.

I expressed the belief also that Woman's Suffrage was not proving itself the panacea we had hoped for; that our hope for the better day lies not in Suffrage nor legislation of any kind, but in a devout Christian womanhood expressing itself in the lives of her children.

I desire to make clear what I said and didn't say and then defend my claims. Let me quote from that address:

"I believe in Woman's Suffrage. Her right to vote cannot be justly challenged. Yet those who thought it a panacea for social and political evils have been doomed to disappointment. It has been discovered that while some masculine votes are purchasable, so are some women. While men can be tricky in politics, so can women. The virtues or vices, the wisdom or ignorance of the world do not belong to either sex.

"The mightiest secular force in the world's uplift to the present hour has been man's love for and admiration of women. Woman's advent into the arena of the ballot box has not increased either of these * * *. Her position of greatest respect is as a homemaker, not a politician. Her title of largest honor is Mother, not Suffragette."

Now to the matter in hand:

The right of Suffrage is not an inherent right. It is given by the State. The right of the State to protect itself from the vote of the ignorant and vicious is accepted as a matter of course. We do not give the ballot to criminals nor those of unsound mind, nor to foreigners until they have been here long enough to become acquainted with our institutions. There are very many who believe that the Fifteenth Amendment was a colossal mistake, a measure passed in the heat of victory and not in the calmness of second wisdom. Many suggestions have been made for the restriction of Suffrage, and many laws passed to hedge about this basic institution of government. That a prison sentence should disfranchise a man seems eminently right for the vote of the im-

moral would naturally be considered a debit rather than a credit in our political life. The justice of this no one questions.

In some places a literary test is required, not always a just one. There are many people who can neither read nor write who are a great deal more intelligent about our institutions than those who do. Education imparts knowledge but does not give wisdom. One of the remarkable things is the lack of sound judgment in many people of large knowledge and wide reading.

Another suggested test, long prevailing in England, is the property test, an altogether wrong standard. It is based on the assumption that the great interests of the State are the property interests. It is needless to say there are other things greater than this. Many a man who does not own the roof over his head is a more capable citizen than the man of large wealth.

The ballot should be given to those who have a certain intelligent appreciation of our institutions and the functions of government and as well on a certain moral standard. Only a small portion of the really vicious are ever disfranchised by a jail sentence. I do not know how it could be done but could the morality test be applied, it would be an immense gain to the soundness and stability and ethical progress of government.

As a matter of simple justice I have for years advocated Woman's Suffrage. I cannot see on what principle of equity it could be denied her—certainly not on either ignorance nor immorality. Moreover, the opposition cannot be based on woman's inability to discharge the duties and obligations of office. We can point with some pride to the achievements of

our State superintendent of public instruction and many County superintendents; to Miss Bartelme, in Chicago; "Chief" Chadsey, of Cleveland, and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, of the Industrial Commission of the United States—an appointee of President Wilson.

What comes with force to us is what Woman's Suffrage has not done. I believe still that it has not materially changed the established order of things. In this I am not alone even among the friends of woman's Suffrage. Far be it from me to set myself up as an authority or boast of my encyclopedic knowledge.

And now to the matter of what Woman's Suffrage has accomplished in the State of Colorado, a question, of course, which cannot be settled by any court and after discussion has been completed, each side will have as firm faith in the truth and impregnability of its position as before; but there is some ground for a person to believe that it has not accomplished what was hoped for. I submit the following facts:

First: The question of what has been accomplished by it was submitted to four of the bright legal minds of the city, two of whom are judges of the court. The response was almost in the same words from each one of them: "I do not believe that Woman's Suffrage has put a single law on the statute books of Colorado." I am submitting their opinion rather than my own; men who are familiar with the political conditions in Colorado and have been for a number of years.

Second: Take the case of Denver. Until within the last two or three years it has been accepted as a matter of fact over the nation that no city in the nation was the prey of a more ruthless band of political buccaneers than was our Capitol city.

Magazine writers came from all over the country to study the conditions which were considered a travesty on government. Yet for eighteen years the women of the State and the city of Denver had it in their power to correct these conditions and you must admit that there was no serious vote in that direction until the time when Mayor Arnold was elected, an unfortunate choice it is true, but only because he was not big enough for his job.

Third: I suppose I should refer with a great deal of hesitancy to the case of Judge Ben B. Lindsay, who claims his election to the juvenile court to have been impossible without the votes of the women and yet scarcely has he been fairly re-established in his office until we have put in our hands a document from the Women's Protective League, with headquarters at Denver, which calls Ben B. Lindsay by every name except that of a gentleman and accuses him of about everything in the catalogue except justice and righteousness. If you take their own statements and statements of the officers of the court which are in that document, at anything like the face value, we must believe that no city of the West has ever been afflicted with a more perfect political fourflusher than this same judge of the juvenile court, whose reputation has become nation-wide.

Fourth: I would like to refer to three matters in the way of temperance in this State. I have read the words of Mrs. Anna Shaw that every opposition to Woman's Suffrage is a defense of the saloon, the brothel and the gambling hell. I am wondering if Mrs. Shaw had been in Colorado for the last three years if she would not have distinctly modified that statement. It was just about the time that I came to Colorado that the Search and

Seizure bill was in the State Legislature and was forced to a vote and the correspondent of the Gazette at that time made the statement, which I not only remembered perfectly but took the trouble to copy, that the four women members of the Legislature had power to pass the bill if they voted right, but that these four women threw their votes against the bill, thus defeating it and made local option legislation of the State of Colorado of virtually no effect.

Fifth: Still fresh in our minds are the two temperance campaigns in our own city. The first was to keep out the drug saloon, which was certainly fought to a finish and the storm clouds had not cleared away when I began my ministry in the Springs. You know it was defeated and by what majority and yet if Woman's Suffrage was doing as much for temperance as Mrs. Shaw would have us believe, it would have been a very easy matter to have counted the majority on the other side. The results will lead us to believe that the votes of women did not materially change the results.

Sixth: You will also remember that last Autumn we had a Statewide prohibition campaign. El Paso county voted against that initiated measure by about 2,500 majority, yet the county came up to Colorado Springs with a very decided majority in favor of it. To the women of Colorado Springs belongs the credit of having defeated that measure in this county and to the women at large for defeating it in the State. It goes without saying that had even a small majority of the women's votes been joined to that of the temperance-loving men in the State, results would have been very decidedly different.

Seventh: Again Colorado City has had two campaigns very recently. In the first, the majority for cleaning out the saloons was 2 and the second campaign, the number was 102. Now the proportion of men and women voters in Colorado City is practically equal and yet out of the 1,400 votes of that city, the first majority of 2 tells us something of the large number of those women's votes. Everyone of which Congressman Taylor tells us was a patriotic vote, cast to keep the worst damnable hell holes in America open for the destruction of their own boys. If this is patriotism, God save us from any more of it.

Eighth: Might I refer again to a bill that was introduced in the Denver house of aldermen to promote moral decency and social protection by making it a misdemeanor for proprietors of cafes to serve women patrons with intoxicating liquors. It was a woman's organization of Denver that went before the same board with a protest couched in this language: "We hereby protest against the passage of any measure which places restrictions upon the freedom of action of women which are not placed upon the freedom of action of men. We respectfully request your honorable body to defeat any measure of this character that may be presented." In the opinion of these women, equal rights for their sex means equal rights to drink what and where they please.

To those who believe that a woman cannot have her rights protected unless she has the right of Suffrage, I would like to submit two or three items from the laws of New York:

(1) A man cannot convey a title to real estate without his wife's signature but she can convey any property without his consent.

(2) A husband owning real estate cannot disinherit his wife, yet wives can disinherit husbands.

(3) A husband is compelled to support his wife and family and a jail sentence awaits him if he fails to do so. A woman is not legally obligated to her husband or family, no matter what her condition.

(4) A wife can purchase anything necessary for her home or herself without her husband's consent and the husband is compelled to pay, regardless of the wealth of the wife.

(5) In a suit for divorce, the wife can employ a lawyer and the husband is forced to pay the fee, but the law does not work the other way.

(6) Mothers have equal rights of command over their children but not equal obligations of support.

I mention these as a few of the atrocities that are put upon women in States that do not have the right of Suffrage. I would like the privilege of quoting here the words of one of the best observers of the effect of Women's Suffrage in Colorado, which comes from one of the most intelligent women in the State, the daughter of the editor of one of our most important western newspapers:

"After twenty years, we are forced to admit that human nature as displayed by women is not different from that displayed by men. If the belief had been made on the grounds of the uplift of politics, it would have been disproven by the facts. The political alignment and natures of women do not differ essentially in kind or moral quality from those of men and while I am a firm believer in Suffrage for women, the notion that this will purify political life any faster than human life improves is a mistake."

When I said, as I did say, one reason why Woman's Suffrage was not bringing the millenium was that some women are as purchasable as some men and that they had shown as much craft in the politics at times as anything of which men were capable, I had based my statement on the experience that has been fairly wide in regard to them. When I mention the subtlety of the feminine mind, I was mentioning that which was so clearly recognized in all ages—shown in the Greek mythology, sung by Horace and recognized by observers everywhere, and could not be denied now. The French, when any really great coup occurs, say, "Hunt for the woman." Man have ever known she is more clever than he and why not in politics as well as in other things? After living in that city for four years and having had much to do with the political conditions in the metropolis of Kansas, not from hearsay but from first hand acquaintance, may I relate one little incident and there are many others that are forthcoming, if necessary. I came to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Kansas City, Kan., just as the Federated Women's clubs of Kansas were closing their State convention, which was held in the church of which I was chosen pastor. The great contest in that State convention was over a president. The women of Kansas City had a candidate whom they desired to install in that office. During the last few weeks preceding the convention, the membership in the city clubs grew like a Sunday-school before Christmas. When the hour for the choice of the president came, the rival candidates each had a very vigorous backing. Charge of fraud was openly made against clubs of Kansas City. A regular free-for-all en-

sued. The late additions to the clubs of Kansas City were disfranchised by a vote of the convention, which then proceeded to elect the up-State candidate, but before she had been elected to the office, the lie was passed, hats smashed and a general melee followed which seemed to be not much in keeping with the Temple of Peace dedicated to the Nazarene.

In substantiation of some of my statements, I need only appeal to your common sense. Congressman Taylor says only one-half of one per cent of the women of Colorado are immoral. I cannot believe that the Congressman made this statement seriously. He probably meant that there were that many denizens of the red light district of the cities. It would be just as true to say that one-half of one per cent of the men of Colorado were immoral because only that number are incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries. Where these people vote is of little consequence to them except that it will be for the ones who will protect their interests and their business and the woman who is corruptible through the body is certainly so through the purse—that goes without arguing.

In conversation with a most respected citizen of this city, for many years a resident of Precinct 3, Ward 2, and who sits before me this evening, ready to be summoned, if necessary, I have this testimony, that the only case of fraud in voting in the Springs that he ever saw was done by a band of women under the lead of three professional women politicians of the city and I have the personal testimony of one of these same influential politicians of Colorado Springs, who marked the ballots for thirty-five women in one election, who obediently voted according to that one's

behest and thus enjoyed the God given privilege of freedom under the American flag.

I am through with this recital. I have simply given many of these things against my will to establish the point that Woman's Suffrage is not the panacea for all our political and social ills. Let me repeat, I have defended it for a decade of years. I am not disbelieving in it now. I think more and more it will become a vital and important feature in settling the issues of our American life. It has not at present reached that dignity. * * *

I want, however, to reaffirm my belief in the fact that the greatest asset in our civilization is neither the woman with a career nor the Suffragette. It is the motherhood of our nation, consecrated, devout, which is doing more to mould the life of the nation than all the Suffragetism multiplied by ten. I have no interest in the matter outside of its direct effect upon the moral life of the nation. I am not a politician, have no desire to bring political questions into the pulpit. Things like this we've touched upon only indirectly in re-

lation to the larger issues. In fact, I hardly know my own politics, except that I believe more nearly than anything else in the Progressive principles. I am a minister of the gospel, striving to preach the religion of Jesus Christ, having no ambition to be mixed up in political matters. The vital thing is the relation of the soul to its God, its neighbor and itself. I would do more to make the mother of a family a follower of Jesus Christ than I would to try to bring the right of Suffrage to a thousand women or a thousand men. Through the influence of womanhood have our reforms come. She is the power behind the throne, moving, propelling, compelling. Whether her votes have added to this is an open question. I believe the issues are greater and the destinies will be affected more by the former than the latter. There is only one serious force at work in the world to make it better, that is the teaching of the Bible and the religion of the Nazarene. I hope I have learned enough of that to not speak contemptuously of any man or woman, or to judge them. * * *



Fairfield County Activity

Mrs. William B. Glover, Chairman of Fairfield County, reports much activity all over that county, where the Suffragists and Socialists have claimed so much. There are already many branches established there, and new ones are coming into existence all the time. Many towns report active Anti-Suffrage sentiment, awaiting organization. The county owes

much to the Hon. Jeremiah Donovan, who has so honorably stood by his constituency, even though assailed in no measured terms by the Suffragists, who seem to forget the principle of "majority rule." The winter work in the county will be carried on by earnest bands of workers in every branch.

The Woman of Today and Her Grandmother

By John B. Huber, A. M., M. D.

DR. OLIVE LYNN, of Colorado, is reported as having stated that the women of the present day are not the physical equals of their mothers and grandmothers. Taking the sex as a whole, I have no doubt of this; nor, what is more, are they the mental equals of their maternal forbears. How can these things be otherwise when many women have themselves become so abnormal and are striving now so hard to abnormalize civilization. The physical deterioration of the modern woman is manifest in many ways. Anyone that is reasonable can satisfy himself as to this by going at noon into the business section of any great city and observing how the skyscrapers disgorge their many thousands—hundreds of thousands in New York—of anemic, sallow, face-erupted, tired, dyspeptic young women employed as typewriters and the like (These young women furnish nearly all the solution that is needed of the grievous problem of unemployment among men, among those who have families to support; but that, I suppose, is another story). Well, what is true of these young women is true of a vast proportion of their sex; and the situation is distinctly modern; nothing like it obtained in the time of their grandmothers. And now it is wanted that these women, in addition to their unnatural and perversely assumed burdens, should shoulder also those burdens which are the legitimate accompaniment of the ballot. So it is that many more women than ever before are doing the

things in life they have no business doing, and they are not doing the things in life they ought to be doing—housewifery, motherhood, cultivation of the religious sentiments and the like, things the world is now so desperately hungry for—and there is no health in them, physical or any other way.

Professor Sargent, of Harvard, has for thirty years given considerable attention to the physical examinations of both sexes from all classes of society; he is altogether for the development of the sexes in such way that each shall be the better fitted for the division of labor which is provided for in the universal scheme, and which even the Suffragette is powerless to alter. "It required trying experiences," states Professor Sargent, "to develop the noble woman of the past, and it will require equally hard efforts to keep up the stock and develop the noble women of the future; there are the kind of women, however, that make fit companions for noble men and worthy mothers of sturdy children." Again, "I sometimes think that militant Suffragists, instead of breaking windows, throwing bombs, destroying property and endangering life, could find in vigorous athletics a better outlet for their somewhat spiteful emotions, and a better nursery for those heroic qualities which so many of them have displayed. I cannot state too emphatically that it is on the breeding power of women as of men, not in their voting power, that the hopes of the future depend."

I have given my belief that the "modern woman" is not the mental equal of her grandmother. "How can that be," asks one; "the uptodate woman is ever so much more intellectual, better educated, knows more." Yes; but that kind of mind is not necessarily a fine one nor a well-poised, essentially cultivated, rich mind, mellowed in the things that are lovely and fragrant. And knowledge is an entirely different thing from wisdom. I, for my part, wish to Heaven the "modern woman" had less knowledge and more sense. And so it is that the "modern woman" knows a whole lot of things it is not at all good for her to

know, and she doesn't know or has forgotten much that she ought to know; and by that same token the times have never been so badly out of joint since the days of Nero. And which now do you think the healthier—physically, mentally, spiritually—which the nobler type: the gentlewoman of two generations ago, the justified mother of men, who sat tranquilly facing the sunset, its warm and kindly glow suffusing her whitened hair, with her children and her children's children about her, honoring her, loving her; or the rampant, bitter, asexual, desecrating, militant virago of today?



Press News and Notes

THE UNJUST JUDGE IN POLITICS

It is reported in the papers of September 11 that Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, who several weeks ago made a report in favor of the proposed amendment to the U. S. Constitution granting Woman Suffrage, tried to bring it up ahead of the Currency bill, but failed because Senator Overman objected. It is added that "the Suffragists are not certain that they have the necessary votes to pass the resolution through the Senate." Of course they are uncertain and, of course, they have not the votes under normal conditions so they resort to the tactics tried upon the unjust judge which have many times proved very effective. The Senators Overman are sometimes off guard. Woman Suffrage is a business and the woman politician is an opportunist. She well understands the value of the wearing process used on the unjust judges. This suggests that the Scripture advice was that in matters of the greatest importance the advocates of a good cause should be equally unremitting in their efforts and it is a lesson that Anti-Suffragists must learn, greatly as they deprecate such a misuse of time and such sacrifice of their legitimate duties. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty from the wrong of Suffrage.

WHAT'S IN A NAME

"There's millions in it." Names constantly used as head lines and forever repeated in print and speech carry conviction unconsciously. They come to pass finally as truth. The use of the term "Labor" as a general name to include the great body of American working men, a case directly in point. It really refers, as used, only to a large contingent of the army of workers who belong to labor unions. Whether this is a good condition, whether it is freedom is not the question. The point is that the members have no right to monopolize the term "labor." On the misuse of this word has been built up the preposterous claim which lies at the base of Socialism, namely—that hand labor is all that has given value to products. As a matter of fact all Americans labor in some fashion, women as well as men, and until this is again recognized in printed literature and platform oratory mischief will continue.

Another notable headline falsehood is seen in the continual repetition of the term "equal" concerning Woman Suffrage, which is and must continue to be as far as possible from being on an equality with Male Suffrage. The fact of the similarity

of age and residence requirements does not constitute equality in voting conditions. At twenty-one, the voting age, a man changes his status toward the law. He can no longer claim maintenance from his father. He becomes the State's servant, to do its bidding, if need be, in peace and in war. His vote is his pledge that he accepts the service demanded. Not one of these things is true of woman's voting requirements. To claim it is headline misstatement.

An instance of how headlines mislead is the following from the New York Sun of September 12:

ULSTER WOMEN TO VOTE

One would naturally suppose that the women of Ulster County, Ireland, could now vote if they so desired. Nothing of the kind is true as will be seen by the article which follows the heading. One political faction of Ulster county propose, if and after the people decide to refuse to obey the projected Home Rule bill, that a draft of articles shall include recommendation of an extension of the voting of women—the taxpayers, only, of course, as all voting is based on that. It will be seen that "the women" are far from "voting in Ulster," but the headlines will help Woman Suffrage.

Another notable instance of this kind of popular form of injustice is further illustrated in this headline, "Ulster women to vote." Just as organized, or union, labor has become "labor," so the small number of Suffragists are continually made to appear as being "the women" at large. "The women of California demand the ballot." "The women of Illinois want to vote," and so on, ad nauseum; the truth being that four-fifths of the women of California were either distinctly opposed or indifferent when the Socialists, as everywhere, forced upon them a Suffrage obligation that they do not wish to have and will get rid of when opportunity offers. American women, at large, do not want to vote.

The Evening Mail of September 10, contained an interesting and suggestive article by Miss Agnes M. Mulry, of the Domestic Relations Court, who says that she has interviews with from seventy-five to one hundred women a day who have come with pitiful tales. Miss Mulry says, "The worst spectre in the life of the married woman of humble circumstances is—the affinity." She adds, "This affinity evil is growing. Marriage is daily getting to be a harder field for the plain house-mother who has no money. There are so many cheap amusements nowadays, for one thing, where men see little that fosters the domestic trend of their natures. Under the name of 'broadmindness' everything is discussed as it never was before, and even the humble working people who used to be satisfied with their work and their home life, now find the narrow horizon irksome. Temptations are thicker than ever before, and moral standards more lax. In three months this summer we handled nearly thirteen hundred cases of desertion and one hundred cases of non-support of aged relatives." Old age pensions now in force in some Western States, will be apt to increase this crime as it has done in Australia and in Ireland; while pensioning the mother in the home, tried now even in this State, teaches the boy to shirk responsibility and with that comes the loosening of the tie that binds mother and son.

Mrs. Pankhurst is likely to hold the position of "spot light filler" in our press columns for some time whether she "arrives" or is deported. It would matter nothing to her which fate was hers, provided she could make notoriety pay. The revolting "white slave" crusade is of her originating. Of its latest phase the Detroit Evening News of September 3, says of the effort of Miss Virginia Brooks, the Chicago Suffragist-Vice Crusader, who attempted to visit the vice district of Detroit, and lecture about it between the acts, while her "white slave" play, "Little Lost Sister," was being played, the police commissioner said: "It is a game to ob-

tain publicity for a show—an attempt to make capital out of the shame of women, to commercialize a movement for morality and decency." The "white slave" as a Suffrage slogan is losing force.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE TESTIMONY FROM THE SUFFRAGE STATES

Politics is a practical game, it is a game of seizing chances as they appear. It is of little avail to tell the active politician that the woman vote is really meaningless because, in a republic, the ballot necessarily implies the power to sustain the law voted for. He replies, "The ballot box next November does not inquire whether the vote cast is thrown in by a hand that can enforce it or not. That is reasoning for tomorrow; today I want to count more bits of paper than my opponent. That will decide whether or no I secure the office I seek." The knowledge that will convince men and will defeat Woman Suffrage must be as practical as the election day returns. Happily for us, such knowledge is now at hand and can be set forth in such bold type that all who run may read. Here is a single article, the first of many to be published in this column, and it never has been in print.

James B. Pearce, Secretary of State of Colorado, was a candidate for re-election last November. The charges and counter charges concerning the conduct of his office, which had been smouldering long, burst forth into a fury, and charges were made in the public prints. The Denver Post of November 3, 1912, had this to say of Mr. Pearce:

"Denver pastors say that Pearce is unfit to hold public office. A committee of clergymen hears evidence against secretary of state and condemns him in unmistakable terms. After years of patient unbelief concerning rumors that were as incredible as they were shocking to all sense of honor and decency, James B. Pearce, Secretary of State, was finally indicted last week by public opinion for gross immorality in the conduct of his office."

Having heard the case and weighed its merits, those seven representative clergymen rendered the following verdict:

Denver, Colorado, October 31, 1912.

Dear Brother:

We, the undersigned, have examined certain affidavits bearing upon the personal character of James B. Pearce, Secretary of State and candidate for re-election. We have likewise heard statements from various persons associated with him in the State House and in his office. These matters have been investigated by us independently of any organization or any public journal. The most of them have not appeared in print, to our knowledge. The individuals making these statements have in every case appeared personally and have told us of matters of which they were personally cognizant. These affidavits and statements have fully convinced us that in character and in conduct Mr. Pearce is unfit for the office to which he aspires.

You will readily understand that women making such statements do not desire the notoriety that would come with the publication of their names and statements, or to appear before us personally in this matter. For this reason, we are taking the responsibility of this statement upon ourselves.

We have no desire to bring partisan politics into the Christian pulpit. We are influenced by no personal interest or partisan bias. We are impelled simply by the gravity of a moral issue. For this reason, we appeal to you and, through you, to the people of your congregation, for the sake of the honor of our State, for the sake of its womanhood, for the sake of moral standards in our public life, to cast your ballot against Mr. Pearce in the coming election, and we ask you to communicate this to the members of your congregation.

Mr. Pearce was offered the opportunity of appearing before us personally and privately, and bringing in any witnesses he desired, which opportunity he declined.

We, the undersigned, have examined certain affidavits and are fully convinced

that in character and conduct, Mr. Pearce is unfit for the office to which he aspires.

Very sincerely yours,

R. F. Coyle, Pastor Central Presbyterian Church.

H. F. Rall, President Liff School of Theology and President of the Denver Morals Commission.

David H. Fouse, Pastor First Reformed Church and President Ministerial Alliance.

Perry V. Jennes, Pastor Twenty-third Avenue Presbyterian Church.

D. D. Forsyth, Superintendent Denver District of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Vice-President Ministerial Alliance.

Harry E. Purinton, Pastor Westminster Presbyterian Church and President Denver Commission of Charities and Corrections.

C. B. Wilcox, Pastor Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church.

The same issue of the Denver Post announces that the ministers of Montrose had received the letter from the Denver Ministerial Alliance, calling attention to Pearce's record, and "in their several pulpits, will urge the members of their congregations to vote solidly against Pearce, and thus uphold the virtue of the women of Colorado."

On the eve of election, November 3, 1912, the Post said: "To the women of Colorado. If you wish to justify your right to Suffrage in the eyes of the world, and defeat such a man as Secretary of State Pearce, many of you must 'scratch' your ticket." Instructions are then given for the scratching of the ballot. Again it called upon "decent Democrats" of Colorado to defeat Pearce for a third term. From Georgetown, Colorado, the Post publishes a story declaring that "the rank and file of Democrats throughout Clear Creek county were greatly shocked when the expose concerning Secretary of State James B. Pearce became public. That Pearce has absolutely failed to clear his skirts of the charges, having practically pleaded guilty to every count, will result

in his name being scratched by both Democrats and Republicans."

The Post says: "This paper is independent. It has no political debts to pay, nor political friends to reward * * *. It is fighting the battle that is greater than parties; it is greater than men; it is fighting for the integrity and virtue of our homes; it is fighting for clean, honest, decent men for our officials, irrespective of parties or politics; in fact, it is fighting for the very principles, the very foundations of our civilization, the purity and virtue of our women. This isn't a fight against the unfortunate Pearce. As an individual, we care nothing for him, one way or the other. But we must, for the very salvation of the race, throw this man out of office and see that no other Pearces are ever elected to any office in this State. In fact, upon the election or defeat of men like Pearce depends the future of this State and the future of our race. This is personal to you, Mr. Voter, and to you, Mrs. Voter, and to endorse such debauchery, such unspeakable immorality, as has disgraced the office of Secretary of State would be a calamity to this State that we could not recover from. His defeat is more important than tariffs, more important than trusts, more important than all the other 'isms' and plans of our government, because without the foundations of virtue and morality in our people and in our homes, nothing else is worth while * * *. In the name of the mothers, wives and sisters, in the name of the virtue of women, in the name of decency and morality in the homes and in public life, help to retire to oblivion that man who has done more to disgrace the Democratic party and official life in Colorado than any other man in the State—help defeat the unspeakable James B. Pearce, who has not only shamed the womanhood of Colorado, but the manhood as well." The same issue announces an "Anti-Pearce Rally" for the night before election, a meeting of the women to protest against the election of James B. Pearce; but not one name of a woman is given; the women politicians of Denver were elsewhere!

Book Notes

"Woman Under Socialism," by Ferdinand August Bebel

Translated from the German by Daniel DeLeon

A MAN to whom tributes of loyal love were paid such as few men have ever received died recently in Zurich, Switzerland. The coffin that held the body of Ferdinand August Bebel was completely hidden by the floral tributes that half filled the hall in which thousands of persons, many of them delegates from foreign bodies, filed past the bier to look their last on the face of the noted German Socialist. He was born in 1840, began life as a carpenter, founded in connection with others, the Social-Democratic party, and served in the Reichstag for forty years. That party at his death numbered four million in Germany. Bebel was a speaker of eloquence and fascination, and a writer of simplicity, clearness and force. It behooves us to know what he advocated in his writings. The book that, perhaps, possessed the widest influence, certainly the one that holds the greatest interest for us, is his "Woman under Socialism," well translated, with notes, by the American Socialist leader, Daniel DeLeon.

The sentence that strikes our eye as we open the book at its first page is this: "Woman was the first human being that tasted bondage. Woman was a slave before the slave existed." This paragraph gives a good idea of the direct, lucid, engaging style of which Bebel was master. But it also shows us that the whole theorizing which is to be built on this falsehood must be necessarily as untruthful as itself. The more we learn of the revelations of the distant past, the more we understand that what Otis T. Mason says in his "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture" is true: "According to the law of the survival of the fittest, a tribe or stock of human beings in which brutality has place, simply chooses the downward road and disappears." He also says, "At the

very beginning of human time, woman laid down the lines of her duties, and she has kept them unremittingly."

Herr Bebel says: "The basis of all oppression is economic dependence." This sentence reveals to us two underlying causes for the wrong thinking which we shall see unfolded; namely, the basis of materialism on which he builds society, and the false conception of the relation of the sexes. It has lately been claimed strenuously, by one wing of the Woman Suffrage following, that Woman Suffrage did not arise from Socialism, and was not vitally connected with it. The study of this exponent of its creed will show us that both of these claims are false. Every present act and word of Suffrage leaders circles the movement about the economic dependence of woman. Bebel adds: "This has been the condition of women in the past, and still is so." In denying this, we are not dependent for testimony on the beliefs of any thinkers or writers. Art in all its forms has recorded in enduring stone, on canvas and on parchment that date from the earliest pre-historic times, the fact that woman was the nucleus about which savage and civilized society was formed. She was its shaper and its real ruler. Love and the instinct of social and self-preservation led her to exalt man, and he in turn testified that she was the inspirer. Among all races, language is represented as feminine, and it records that earth and nature and country and commerce and art and literature and knowledge and wisdom and virtue and religion, and countless other fundamental concepts, are considered feminine, which means that they owe their origin to qualities that were the endowment of women.

Herr Bebel says: "On the threshold of the past we find the horde as the first human community." This, again, is untrue to scientific research. He says, "In

the horde, as in the cattle herd, sexual impulses were gratified without order or separation according to pairs. At first, and for a considerable time no lasting union existed between man and wife. Women became the property of the horde, or tribe, without the right of choice or refusal." This is entirely contrary to all modern scientific knowledge. Primitive life was often communal as to property, as among the American Indians, who are therefore, even today, in the Stone Age; but families were very distinct. Mr. Mason, who quotes many authorities, says: "Among the Andamanese the lowliest of the lowly, so far from the contract of marriage being regarded as a temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper, or other cause, is allowed to dissolve the union; and conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule! So far from promiscuity in married life are all savage tribes known on earth at present, that the lower down we go the more stringent are the rules about who shall take each young woman to himself."

Herr Bebel believes not only that in the beginning life was communal as to sex relations, but that such is the only natural and proper condition and the one that must prevail under the Socialistic Commonwealth. He says: "It was doubtless a scarcity of women, or admiration of one particular woman, that first roused in man the desire for permanent possession. Thus marriage arose. The foundations of private property, of the family, tribe and State were thus laid." Such is his revolting, as well as entirely false, view of life. He says: "The woman of the future is socially and economically independent; she is no longer subject even to a vestige of dominion or exploitation. She is free, the peer of man, mistress of her lot. In the choice of love, she is, like man, free and unhampered. She woos and is wooed, and closes the bond from no consideration other than her own inclinations. This bond is a private contract, celebrated without the intervention of any functionary. Socialism creates in this nothing new: it merely restores, at

a higher level of civilization and under new social forms, that which prevailed at a more primitive social stage, and before private property began to rule society. The simple circumstance that all bashful prudery and affectation of secrecy regarding natural matters will have vanished is a guarantee of a more natural intercourse of the sexes than that which prevails today. If incompatibility, disenchantment, or repulsion sets in between two persons that have come together, morality commands that the unnatural, and therefore immoral, bond be dissolved."

This doctrine has become painfully familiar. The teaching of sex hygiene in our schools, as now proposed by high authorities in education of the young, is the latest development from this vile conception, already accepted under specious names in many of our colleges. The Columbia professor who formed the Man's League for Woman Suffrage in this State says that the slight marriage ceremony to which he and his wife submitted was merely a concession to a social order which they both seek to replace with "natural conditions." In the beginning of the Woman Suffrage movement in this country, the founders held the same creed. Mrs. Stanton said: "Observation and experience daily show how incompetent are men, as individuals, or as a government, to select partners in business, teachers for their children, ministers of their religion, or makers, adjudicators or administrators of their laws; and as the same weakness and blindness must attend in the selection of matrimonial partners, the dictates of humanity and common sense alike show that the latter and most important contract should be no more perpetual than either or all of the former."

Bebel further says, drawing the picture of the future communistic State: "Human society has traversed, in the course of thousands of years, all the various phases of development, to arrive in the end where it started from—communistic property and complete equality and fraternity, but no longer among congeries alone, but among the whole human race. Woman again fills

the active role that once was hers in primitive society, she does not become the mistress, she is the equal of man." Here we find the inspiration for the latest Suffragist name for the normal woman living as God intended she should in a home provided by her husband and presided over by her, which is "parasite."

Bebel says: "The individual is to develop himself fully. That must be the law of human association." Here, again, we have this thought echoed by Suffragists. "We must consider only the highest good of the individual." "I must lead my own life." Christ laid down the basic principle when he said: "Whosoever loveth his life shall lose it. No man liveth to himself."

Bebel says: "As society assumes the care of its youth, so it does of its aged, sick, or invalid members." Here is the institutional care of children so long urged by Suffrage advocates, and the more modern old-age pensioning so strongly advocated by them. Again, he says: "Education must also be equal and in common for both sexes. Both sexes must also be equal, fully qualified to exercise all the rights and

fulfill all the duties that society demands of its adult members—fully developed human beings, to whom nothing natural is strange." Thus from Socialism Suffrage receives its warrant to teach co-education and political Suffrage, of which he says much.

Again: "As with the State, so with religion, God will not 'be dethroned,' religion will gradually vanish. It is a transcendental reflection of the social conditions of given episodes. It is, as Marx puts it, a popular striving after the illusory happiness that corresponds with a social condition which needs such illusion. In the image of himself (man) he created him (God) and not the opposite way." This is the religious ideal set forth by Bebel. Christianity and democratic government are now and here grappling with their mortal foe, and woman is the central figure in the conflict. She is the inspirer of good and also of evil. If she fails, Suffrage and Socialism will destroy society. If she continues true, the Republic will stand and religious freedom will remain our children's heritage.



I Want to Live

From the New York Times

I want to live so that my soul
May face the Judgment Day patrol
And find emblazoned on the scroll—
"She has not played a super's role."

I have no fear of Death's decay,
And yet I wish him on his way;
Until I've had a woman's say—
I want to live!

I'm tired of pots and pans and dust!
I'm tired of "Can't" and "Don't" and "Must!"
I'm tired of taking life on trust!
I'm tired of heart-ache and soul-rust!—
I want to live!

JANE BURR.

G'wan and Live

With compliments to Jane Burr

G'wan and live, what's stoppin' you?
I've also got my job to do!
Although I don't have "pans" and "dust,"
I do have "Can't" and "Don't" and "Must,"
G'wan and live!

I pay the doctor, nurse and rent,
And yet my family's not content,
My bank account is badly "bent!"
G'wan and live!

You need not fear that last patrol;
Nor worry much about your soul,
If you but live TRUE WOMAN's role!
G'wan and live!

S. B.

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Opposed to Woman Suffrage

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